

## **KNOW THE RSS**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

With ‘Swayamsevaks’ like Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Lal Krishan Advani in the drivers’ seats in the National Democratic Alliance Government at the Centre in India (1998-2004), the RSS accelerated its old favourite pastime of minority bashing in India. Sarsanghchalak or Supreme Leader of the RSS, KS Sudershan while addressing a rally on the eve of 75<sup>th</sup> founding day of the RSS in Nagpur, called upon Muslims and Christians of the country to prove their patriotism. It is really atrocious that an organization, which was at least twice banned for anti-national activities by the Government of India after independence should pose as controlling authority of patriotism in the country. Should we once again refresh the memory of the RSS bosses that their rabid communal organization was banned in

1948 for collaborating in the murder of Mahatma Gandhi, and in 1992 it was again banned for demolishing Babri mosque at Ayodhya? Do we also need to tell the RSS that misadventures like demolition of Babri mosque only served the strategic goals of the enemies of India like the ISI who wanted to see an India, fractured and at war with itself?

This is high time that the people of this country scrutinize the record (of patriotism and loyalty to the nation) of the RSS itself. Unfortunately, the RSS which is fond of demanding unwavering and unflinching loyalty to the Nation from minorities is neither loyal to the Constitution of India, nor to the National Flag. RSS is an organization, which openly decries the existence of a democratic, federal and secular India which are the 'Basic' features of the Constitution of India. In fact, it has old heritage of worshipping dictators like Hitler. It is an organization which not only openly decried the Freedom Movement against the British rule but also made fun of the great martyrs like Bhagat Singh and his companions who laid down their lives for the liberation of the Motherland. In order to know the truth we will simply have to make access to the literature and publications of the RSS specially the writings of Golwalkar (known as Guruji) who as a philosopher and guide is religiously followed by the bosses and cadres of the RSS. In this booklet we have presented fully the official viewpoints of the RSS on different aspects of Indian polity so that it cannot allege misrepresentation.

We must know about the RSS today, as it is no more a fringe organization with the present BJP leaders declaring their open allegiance to the RSS. They have even told the Nation that RSS to them is what Gandhiji was to Nehru! It is a highly intriguing and dishonest parallel in the sense that Gandhiji was theoretically never disloyal to a democratic, secular and federal India. We are publishing this booklet with the hope that this Nation gets familiarized to the real face and intentions of the RSS; otherwise it may be too late to save this country.

All quotations reproduced below are from the RSS publications/literature and English translations are by the author.

## **IS IT TRUE THAT THE RSS IDOLIZES NAZISM AND HITLER?**

Doubtlessly Hitler is a great hero for RSS. The RSS as great champions of Hindutva want to deprive minorities of their all civil and human rights shamelessly and openly adhering to the totalitarian models of Hitler. This fascist outlook towards minorities specially Muslims and Christians was clearly elaborated by the senior ideologue of the RSS, MS Golwalkar, in his book, *We or Our Nationhood Defined*. This book published in the year 1939, gives an insight into the thinking of

the RSS leadership. We find Golwalkar in this book idealizing the Nazi cultural nationalism of Hitler in the following words:

*German Race pride has now become the topic of the day. To keep up the purity of the Race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic Races—the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for Races and cultures, having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindusthan to learn and profit by.<sup>1</sup>*

Golwalkar unhesitatingly wanted to model his Hindu Rashtra or Nation on Hitler's totalitarian and fascist pattern as is clear from the following words of his in the same book:

*It is worth bearing well in mind how these old Nations solve their minorities problem. They do not undertake to recognize any separate element in their polity. Emigrants have to get themselves naturally assimilated in the principal mass of the population, the National Race, by adopting its culture and language and sharing in its aspirations, by losing all consciousness of their separate existence, forgetting their foreign origin. If they do not do so, they live merely as outsiders, bound by all the codes and conventions of the Nation, at the sufferance of the Nation and deserving no special protection, far less any privilege or rights. There are only two courses open to the foreign elements, either to merge themselves in the national race and adopt its culture, or to live at its mercy so long as the national race may allow them to do so and to quit the country at the sweet will of the national race. That is the only sound view on the minorities problem. That is the only logical and correct solution. That alone keeps the national life healthy and undisturbed. That alone keeps the nation safe from the danger of a cancer developing into its body politic of the creation of a state within a state.<sup>2</sup>*

RSS was the brain child of KB Hedgewar, VD Savarkar and BS Moonje. All of them including Golwalkar who became chief (sarsanghchalak) of RSS after Hedgewar, were great fans of Fascism and Nazism. The Italian researcher of Indian politics, Marzia Casolari ('Hindutva's Foreign Tie-up in the 1930s-Archival Evidence') has done pioneer work in tracing the fraternal links between RSS founders on the one hand and Fascism and Nazism on the other. She has traced the linkages between the two after a laborious perusal of Moonje diaries which are available at Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi. According to her :

*The existence of direct contacts between the representatives of the (Italian) fascist regime, including Mussolini, and Hindu nationalists demonstrates that Hindu nationalism had much more than an abstract interest in the ideology and practice of fascism. The interest of Indian Hindu nationalists in fascism and Mussolini must not be considered as dictated by an occasional curiosity, confined to a few individuals; rather, it should be considered as the culminating result of the attention that Hindu nationalists, especially in Maharashtra, focussed on Italian dictatorship and its leader. To them, fascism appeared to be an example of conservative revolution.*

Moonje had a personal audience with Mussolini on March 19, 1931 at 3 pm, in Palazzo Venezia, the headquarters of the Fascist government. The meeting has been recorded in the diary on March 20 in the following words,

*I shook hands with him saying that I am Dr Moonje. He knew everything about me and appeared to be closely following the events of the Indian struggle for freedom...Signor Mussolini asked me if I have visited the University. I said I am interested in the military training of boys and have been visiting the Military Schools of England, France and Germany. I have now come to Italy for the same purpose and I am very grateful to say that the Foreign Office and the War Office have made good arrangements for my visiting these schools. I just saw this morning and afternoon the Balilla and the Fascist Organisations and I was much impressed. Italy needs them for her development and prosperity. I do not see anything objectionable though I have been frequently reading in the newspapers not very friendly criticisms about them and about your Excellency also. 'Signor Mussolini: What is your opinion about them?' , Dr Moonje: Your Excellency, I am much impressed. Every aspiring and growing Nation needs such organisations.' Signor Mussolini, who appeared very pleased, said: 'Thanks but yours is an uphill task. However I wish you every success in return.' Saying this he got up and I also got up to take his leave.*

The other great mentor of RSS, VD Savarkar also had great liking for Hitler's Nazism and Fascism of Mussolini. While delivering the Presidential address to the 22<sup>nd</sup> Session of Hindu Mahasabha in 1940 at Madura he said,

*There is no reason to suppose that Hitler must be a human monster because he passes off as a Nazi or Churchill is a demi-God because he calls himself a Democrat. Nazism proved undeniably the saviour*

*of Germany under the set of circumstances Germany was placed in...*

Savarkar went on to chide Nehru for opposing Fascism and Nazism in India. According to him,

*Who are we to dictate to Germany, Japan or Russia or Italy to choose a particular form of policy of government simply because we woo it out of academical attraction? Surely Hitler knows better than Pandit Nehru does what suits Germany best. The very fact that Germany or Italy has so wonderfully recovered and grown so powerful as never before at the touch of Nazi or Fascist magical wand is enough to prove that those political "Isms" were the most congenial tonics their health demanded.*

Savarkar went on to support Hitler's anti-Jewish pogroms and on October 14, 1938, he suggested the same solution for the Muslim problem in India:

*A Nation is formed by a majority living therein. What did the Jews do in Germany? They being in minority were driven out from Germany.*

## **IS THE RSS LOYAL TO THE NATIONAL FLAG?**

The RSS since its inception in 1925 hated anything, which symbolized the united struggle of the Indian people against British rule. The case of the Tricolour is the most pertinent one. In December 1929 Congress at its Lahore session adopted 'Purna Swaraj' or complete self-rule as the national goal and called upon the people to observe January 26, 1930 as Independence Day by displaying and honouring the Tricolour (the Tricolour was by consensus considered the flag of the national movement by this time). In response to this Hedgewar as Sarsanghchalak issued a circular to all the RSS shakhas to worship the bhagwa jhanda (saffron flag) as the national flag. The important point is that nowhere in the functioning of the RSS is the Tricolour or National Flag used even today. The RSS leaders like Murli Manohar Joshi may go to unfurl the Tricolour at Lal Chowk of Srinagar (1991), Kashmir, in order to hypocritically demonstrate their patriotism, but the fact is that the RSS openly decries and denigrates the National Flag, as we will see through the following statements.

Golwalkar while addressing a Gurupurnima gathering in Nagpur on July 14, 1946, stated that it was the saffron flag which in totality represented their great culture. It was the embodiment of God: "We firmly believe that in the end the whole nation will bow before this saffron flag."<sup>3</sup> Even after independence when the Tricolour became the National Flag, it was the RSS which refused to accept it

as the National Flag. Golwalkar while discussing the issue of the national flag in an essay entitled 'Drifting and Drifting' in the book *Bunch of Thoughts*, an RSS publication and collection of writings of Golwalkar, has the following to say:

*Our leaders have set up a new flag for our country. Why did they do so? It is just a case of drifting and imitating....Ours is an ancient and great nation with a glorious past. Then, had we no flag of our own? Had we no national emblem at all these thousands of years? Undoubtedly we had. Then why this utter void, this utter vacuum in our minds?4*

Just on the eve of India's Independence the RSS English organ Organizer (dated August 14, 1947) carried a feature titled 'mystery behind the bhagwa dhawaj' (saffron flag) which while demanding hoisting of saffron flag at the ramparts of Red Fort in Delhi, openly denigrated the choice of the Tri-colour as the National Flag in the following words: "the people who have come to power by the kick of fate may give in our hands the Tricolour but it never be respected and owned by Hindus. the word three is in itself an evil, and a flag having three colours will certainly produce a very bad psychological effect and is injurious to a country."

## **IS RSS LOYAL TO THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA?**

How loyal the RSS is to the Constitution of India can be known by the following statement of Golwalkar which is being reproduced from *Bunch of Thought* which is not only selection of the writings of Golwalkar but also a Bible for the RSS cadres.

*Our Constitution too is just a cumbersome and heterogeneous piecing together of various articles from various Constitutions of Western countries. It has absolutely nothing which can be called our own. Is there a single word of reference in its guiding principles as to what our national mission is and what our keynote in life is? No.5*

In fact, RSS wanted this Constitution to be replaced by *Manusmriti* or Codes of Manu which is known for its derogatory and inhuman references to Untouchables

and women. When the Constituent Assembly of India had finalized the Constitution of India RSS was not happy. Its organ, Organizer in an editorial on November 30, 1949, complained,

*But in our constitution there is no mention of the unique constitutional development in ancient Bharat. Manu's Laws were written long before Lycurgus of Sparta or Solon of Persia. To this day his laws as enunciated in the Manusmriti excite the admiration of the world and elicit spontaneous obedience and conformity. But to our constitutional pundits that means nothing.*

What kind of civilization the RSS wants to build by enforcing the laws of Manu, can be known by having a glimpse of the laws prescribed by Manu for the Dalits/Untouchables and women. Some of these dehumanizing and degenerate laws, which are presented here, are self-explanatory.

### **LAWS OF MANU CONCERNING DALITS/UNTOUCHABLES.**

- (1) For the sake of the prosperity of the worlds (the divine one) caused the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra to proceed from his mouth, his arm, his thighs and his feet.
- (2) One occupation only the lord prescribed to the Sudras, to serve meekly even these (other) three castes.
- (3) Once-born man (a Sudra), who insults a twice-born man with gross invective, shall have his tongue cut out; for he is of low origin.
- (4) If he mentions the names and castes (gati) of the (twice-born) with contumely, an iron nail, ten fingers long, shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth.
- (5) If he arrogantly teaches Brahmanas their duty, the king shall cause hot oil to be poured into his mouth and into his ears.
- (6) With whatever limb a man of a low caste does hurt to (a man of the three) highest (castes), even that limb shall be cut off; that is the teaching of Manu.
- (7) He who raises his hand or a stick, shall have his hand cut off; he who in anger kicks with his foot, shall have his foot cut off.
- (8) A low-caste man who tries to place himself on the same seat with a man of a high caste, shall be branded on his hip and be banished, or (the king) shall cause his buttock to be gashed.
- (9) Let him never slay a Brahmana, though he have committed all (possible) crimes; let him banish such an (offender), leaving all his property (to him) and (his body) unharmed.

### **LAWS OF MANU CONCERNING WOMEN**

1. Day and night woman must be kept in dependence by the males (of) their (families), and, if they attach themselves to sensual enjoyments, they must be

- kept under one's control.
2. Her father protects (her) in childhood, her husband protects (her) in youth, and her sons protect (her) in old age; a woman is never fit for independence.
  3. Women must particularly be guarded against evil inclinations, however trifling (they may appear); for, if they are not guarded, they will bring sorrow on two families.
  4. Considering that the highest duty of all castes, even weak husbands (must) strive to guard their wives.
  5. No man can completely guard women by force; but they can be guarded by the employment of the (following) expedients:
  6. Let the (husband) employ his (wife) in the collection and expenditure of his wealth, in keeping (everything) clean, in (the fulfilment of) religious duties, in the preparation of his food, and in looking after the household utensils.
  7. Women, confined in the house under trustworthy and obedient servants, are not (well) guarded; but those who of their own accord keep guard over themselves, are well guarded.
  8. Women do not care for beauty, nor is their attention fixed on age; (thinking), '(It is enough that) he is a man,' they give themselves to the handsome and to the ugly.
  9. Through their passion for men, through their mutable temper, through their natural heartlessness, they become disloyal towards their husbands, however carefully they may be guarded in this (world).
  10. (When creating them) Manu allotted to women (a love of their) bed, (of their) seat and (of) ornament, impure desires, wrath, dishonesty, malice, and bad conduct.
  11. For women no (sacramental) rite (is performed) with sacred texts, thus the law is settled; women (who are) destitute of strength and destitute of (the knowledge of) Vedic texts, (are as impure as) falsehood (itself), that is a fixed rule.

It is to be noted here that a copy of *Manusmriti* was burnt as a protest in the presence of Dr. BR Ambedkar himself during historic Mahad agitation in December, 1927.

### ***Manusmriti* Enforced in Madhya Pradesh**

The old RSS dream of promulgating the *Manusmriti* as fundamental law of the country got impetus recently when Uma Bharti, a seasoned *sadhvi* of the RSS came to head the state government in Madhya Pradesh. Soon after coming to power Uma Bharti government promulgated an ordinance on January 23, 2004, banning cow slaughter in the state. The crucial aspect of this ordinance was that it referred to *Manusmriti* for justifying this ban. The ordinance read: "*Manusmriti*



ranks the slaughterer of cow as predator and prescribes hard punishment for him.” It was for the first time in the history of free India that commitment to enforce *Manusmriti* as part of legal set up was announced by any government. This surely opens the gate for enforcing *Manusmriti* in relation to Dalits and women too.

## **DOES THE RSS HAVE FAITH IN DEMOCRACY, SECULARISM AND FEDERALISM?**

### **Against Secularism**

The RSS demands total loyalty to the Indian Nation from minorities. It is another thing that it does not feel it proper to be loyal to the constitutional-legal set up of this very Nation. The study of Prarthana (prayer) and Pratigya (oath) as practiced in the shakhas of the RSS is an example of how the Indian nationalism has been equated with Hinduism, in the same way as the Muslim League had combined Islam with nationality. Significantly, both Prarthana and Pratigya are in direct contravention to the existence of an Indian Secular State which is an important ‘Basic’ feature of the Constitution of India. It is very important to note here that those groups which have been decrying and opposing the Indian constitutional set-up have been facing the might of the Indian state in the form of bullets or jails but here is the RSS which openly rejects the legitimacy of the constitutional system of the country still is allowed to have a free run of the country.

Just imagine former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Home Minister, L.K.Advani of our country who had taken oath to uphold the integrity of a democratic and secular India were also committed to the task of creating a Hindu Rashtra as per the texts of the Prayer and Oath which are a must for the RSS cadres.

### **Prayer:**

*Affectionate Motherland, I eternally bow to you/O Land of Hindus, you have reared me in comfort/O Sacred Land, the Great Creator of Good, may this body of mine be dedicated to you/I again and again bow before You/O God almighty, we the integral part of the Hindu Rashtra salute you in reverence/For Your cause have we girded up our loins/Give us Your Blessings for its accomplishment.*<sup>6</sup>

### **Oath:**

*Before the all powerful God and my ancestors, I most solemnly take this oath, that I become a member of the RSS in order to achieve all*

*round greatness of Bharatvarsha by fostering the growth of my sacred Hindu religion, Hindu society, and Hindu culture. I shall perform the work of the Sangh honestly, disinterestedly, with my heart and soul, and I shall adhere to this goal all my life. Bharat Mata Ki Jai.*<sup>7</sup>

Thus they were not faithful to the Indian Nation as it existed as a legal entity but wanted to subvert it into a theocratic state like Muslim League which created Pakistan in the name of Islam.

### **Against Democracy**

The RSS contrary to the principles of democracy has been constantly demanding India to be ruled under a totalitarian regime. Golwalkar while delivering a speech before the 1350 top level cadres of the RSS in 1940 declared,

*RSS inspired by one flag, one leader and one ideology is lighting the flame of Hindutva in each and every corner of this great land.*<sup>8</sup>

This slogan of one flag, one leader and one ideology has directly been borrowed from the programmes of Nazi and Fascist parties of Europe.

### **Against Federalism**

The RSS is also dead against federal structure of the constitution, again a 'Basic' feature of the India polity. This is clear from the following communication of Golwalkar which he sent to the first session of the National Integration Council in 1961. It read,

*Today's federal form of government not only gives birth but also nourishes the feelings of separatism, in a way refuses to recognize the fact of one nation and destroys it. It must be completely uprooted, constitution purified and unitary form of government be established.*<sup>9</sup>

It was this hatred for federalism that the RSS opposed the formation of Maharashtra with all its might. Golwalkar who always pretended to be non-political person often presided over anti-Maharashtra formation conferences. While presiding over one such conference at Bombay in 1954, he demanded,

*India should have Central Rule and from administrative point of view states should be administered territories.*<sup>10</sup>

These have not been some stray ideas of the RSS ideologue on Indian Federalism. The Bible of the RSS, *Bunch of Thoughts*, has an exclusive chapter titled, 'Wanted a unitary state.' While presenting his remedy to the federal set-up of India he writes,

*The most important and effective step will be to bury deep for good all*

*talk of a federal structure of our country's Constitution, to sweep away the existence of all 'autonomous' or semi-autonomous 'states' within the one state viz., Bharat and proclaim 'One Country, One State, One Legislature, One Executive' with no trace of fragmentational, regional, sectarian, linguistic or other types of pride being given a scope for playing havoc with our integrated harmony. Let the Constitution be re-examined and re-drafted, so as to establish this Unitary form of Government and thus effectively disprove the mischievous propaganda indulged in by the British and so unwittingly imbibed by the present leaders, about our being just a juxtaposition of so many distinct 'ethnic groups' or 'nationalities' happening to live side by side and grouped together by the accident of geographical contiguity and one uniform supreme foreign domination.<sup>11</sup>*

## **WHY WAS THE RSS BANNED AFTER THE MURDER OF GANDHIJI?**

These were the anti-national activities of the RSS due to which the organization was banned on February 4, 1948. The government communique banning the RSS was self-explanatory:

*In their resolution of February 2, 1948 the Government of India declared their determination to root out the forces of hate and violence that are at work in our country and imperil the freedom of the Nation and darken her fair name. In pursuance of this policy the Government of India have decided to declare unlawful the RSS.<sup>12</sup>*

The communique went on to disclose that the ban on the RSS was imposed because,

*undesirable and even dangerous activities have been carried on by members of the Sangh. It has been found that in several parts of the country individual members of the RSS have indulged in acts of violence involving arson, robbery, dacoity, and murder and have collected illicit arms and ammunition. They have been found circulating leaflets exhorting people to resort to terrorist methods, to collect firearms, to create disaffection against the government and suborn the police and the military.<sup>13</sup>*

It is well-known that the then Home Minister, Sardar Patel, had a soft-corner for the RSS. Sardar Patel continues to be a favourite with the RSS. However even Sardar Patel found it difficult to defend the RSS in the aftermath of Gandhiji's assassination. In a letter written to Golwalkar, dated 11 September 1948, Sardar

Patel stated:

*Organizing the Hindus and helping them is one thing but going in for revenge for its sufferings on innocent and helpless men, women and children is quite another thing...Apart from this, their opposition to the Congress, that too of such virulence, disregarding all considerations of personality, decency or decorum, created a kind of unrest among the people. All their speeches were full of communal poison. It was not necessary to spread poison in order to enthuse the Hindus and organize for their protection. As a final result of the poison, the country had to suffer the sacrifice of the invaluable life of Gandhiji. Even an iota of the sympathy of the Government, or of the people, no more remained for the RSS. In fact opposition grew. Opposition turned more severe, when the RSS men expressed joy and distributed sweets after Gandhiji's death. Under these conditions it became inevitable for the Government to take action against the RSS...Since then, over six months have elapsed. We had hoped that after this lapse of time, with full and proper consideration the RSS persons would come to the right path. But from the reports that come to me, it is evident that attempts to put fresh life into their same old activities are afoot.<sup>14</sup>*

## **DID RSS SUPPORT THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BRITISH RULERS?**

The RSS claims to be the greatest embodiment of nationalism in the country today. The people of this country would like to know which movements were launched by the RSS before 1947, to free India from British imperialism. Who amongst its leaders and cadres suffered repression under colonial rule? Who amongst them went to jail or became martyrs for the cause of the freedom of the country? Any patriot of the country is bound to receive shock of life after reading the following narratives of Golwalkar about the different phases of the Freedom Movement.

*There is another reason for the need of always remaining involved in routine work. There is some unrest in the mind due to the situation developing in the country from time to time. There was such unrest in 1942. Before that there was the movement in 1930-31. At that time many other people had gone to Doctorji (By Doctorji is meant Dr. Hedgewar, the founder of the RSS). This delegation requested Doctorji that this movement will give independence and Sangh should*

*not lag behind. At that time, when a gentleman told Doctorji that he was ready to go to jail, Doctorji said: 'Definitely go. But who will take care of your family then? That gentleman replied: I have sufficiently arranged resources not only to run the family expenses for two years but also to pay fines according to the requirements. Then Doctorji told him: 'If you have fully arranged for the resources then come out to work for the Sangh for two years'. After returning home that gentleman neither went to jail nor came out to work for the Sangh.*<sup>15</sup>

This incident clearly shows that the RSS leadership was bent upon demoralising the honest patriotic persons to run away from the cause of Freedom Movement.

Non-cooperation Movement and Quit India Movement were two great milestones in the history of the Indian Freedom Movement and here is the great thesis of great Golwalkar on these two great happenings of the Freedom Movement.

*Definitely there are bound to be bad results of struggle. The boys became unruly after the 1920-21 movement. It is not an attempt to throw mud at the leaders. But these are inevitable products after the struggle. The matter is that we could not properly control these results. After 1942, people often started thinking that there was no need to think of the law.*<sup>16</sup>

Thus Golwalkar wanted the Indians to respect the draconian and repressive laws of the inhuman British rulers! After the 1942 Movement Guruji further commented,

*In 1942 also there was a strong sentiment in the hearts of many. At that time too the routine work of Sangh continued. Sangh vowed not to do anything directly. However, upheaval (uthal-puthal) in the minds of Sangh volunteers continued. Sangh is an organization of inactive persons, their talks are useless, not only outsiders but also many of our volunteers did talk like this. They were greatly disgusted too.*<sup>17</sup>

However, there is not a single publication or document of the Sangh which, could throw some light on the great work the RSS did indirectly for the Quit India Movement.

Golwalkar, the Sarsanghchalak of the RSS, was never able to hide his opposition to any movement against foreign rule. As late as March 1947 when the British rulers had decided to go away from India, Guruji while addressing the

annual day function of the RSS at Delhi, declared that leaders with narrow vision were trying to oppose the state power of the British. While elaborating the point he said that it was wrong to hold the powerful foreigners responsible for our ills. He decried the tendency of “initiating the political movements on the basis of our hatred towards our victors.”<sup>18</sup> While narrating an incident in the course of his speech he got more original on the issue:

*Once a respectable senior gentleman came to our shakha (the drill). He had brought a new message for the volunteers of the RSS. When given an opportunity to address the volunteers of the shakha, he spoke in a very impressive tone. ‘Now do only one work. Catch hold of the British, bash them and throw them out. Whatever happens we will see later on’. He said this much and sat down. Behind this ideology is a feeling of anger and sorrow towards state power and reactionary tendency based on hatred. The evil with today’s political sentimentalism is that its basis is reaction, sorrow and anger, and opposition to the victors forgetting friendliness.*<sup>19</sup>

In all fairness to Guru Golwalkar, he did not claim that the RSS had been opposed to the British. During the course of a speech at Indore in 1960 he said,

*Many people worked with the inspiration to free the country by throwing the British out. After formal departure of the British this inspiration slackened. In fact there was no need to have this much inspiration. We should remember that in our pledge we have talked of the freedom of the country through defending religion and culture. There is no mention of departure of the British in that.*<sup>20</sup>

The RSS was not even willing to regard colonial domination as an injustice. In a speech of June 8, 1942, Golwalkar declared:

*Sangh does not want to blame anybody else for the present degraded state of the society. When the people start blaming others, then there is weakness in them. It is futile to blame the strong for the injustice done to the weak....Sangh does not want to waste its invaluable time in abusing or criticizing others. If we know that large fish eat the smaller ones, it is outright madness to blame the big fish. Law of nature whether good or bad is true all the time. This rule does not change by terming it unjust.*<sup>21</sup>

Golwalkar was not alone in denigrating the freedom struggle and glorifying the British rulers. His Guru and founder of the RSS had similar views. The official biography of Hedgewar has the following meaningful statement.

*After establishing Sangh Doctor Saheb in his speeches used to talk only of Hindu organizations. Direct comment on Government used to be nil.<sup>21A</sup>*

It may be interesting to know that the RSS literature available on Hedgewar so far has absolutely no reference of any ‘indirect’ comment on the barbaric and de-humanized ‘Gorashahi’; the British rule. Even the close scrutiny and scanning of the Nationalist Press of the times of the Freedom Struggle throws no light on any role played by the RSS.

The RSS thus can be seen as having played an extremely dubious role throughout the freedom struggle. All evidence points towards its disruptive activities and the fact that the organization and its leadership were never a part of the Freedom Struggle. The single most important contribution of the RSS was to consistently disrupt the unified struggle of the Indian people against British imperialism through its extreme exclusivist slogan of Hindu Rashtra.

## **DOES THE RSS RESPECT MARTYRS OF THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE LIKE BHAGAT SINGH AND OTHERS?**

There is no dearth of proofs in the documents of the RSS which conclusively establish the fact that RSS denounced movements led by revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekar Azad and their associates. Not only that, they hated even the reformist and moderate movements conducted by leaders like Gandhiji against the British rulers.

Here is a passage from the chapter, ‘Martyr, Great But Not Ideal’ of *Bunch Of Thoughts* decrying the whole tradition of martyrs:

*There is no doubt that such men who embrace martyrdom are great heroes and their philosophy too is pre-eminently manly. They are far above the average men who meekly submit to fate and remain in fear and inaction. All the same, such persons are not held up as ideals in our society. We have not looked upon their martyrdom as the highest point of greatness to which men should aspire. For, after all, they failed in achieving their ideal, and failure implies some fatal flaw in them.<sup>22</sup>*

Could there be a statement more insulting and denigrating to the martyrs than this?

It will be shocking for any Indian who loves the martyrs of the freedom

movement to know what Hedgewar and the RSS felt about the revolutionaries fighting against the British. According to his biography published by the RSS,

*“Patriotism is not only going to prison. It is not correct to be carried away by such superficial patriotism. He used to urge that while remaining prepared to die for the country when the time came, it is very necessary to have a desire to live while organizing for the freedom of the country”.<sup>23</sup>*

It is indeed a pity that ‘fools’ like Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev, Ashfaqullah, Chandrashekhar Azad did not come into contact with this ‘great patriotic thinker’. If they had the great opportunity to meet him, these martyrs could have been saved from giving their lives for ‘superficial patriotism’. This also must be the reason that RSS produced no martyrs during the freedom movement.

## **HOW DOES THE NON-POLITICAL RSS MANIPULATE NATIONAL POLITICS?**

We often hear that the RSS is a socio-cultural organization and has nothing to do with politics. The Organizer, mouthpiece of the RSS in its editorial of February 6,2000 went on to claim that

*The RSS is not a political party. It does not take part in elections nor its office bearers are supposed to become office bearers of any political party. The RSS has no election symbol nor its leadership or members have ever endeavoured to seek political office. It is a social-cultural organization trying to inspire all national activity.*

We must compare this claim of the RSS with the following two statements of Golwalkar, who headed the RSS after the death of Hedgewar, and is considered the greatest ideologue of the organization till date. The first statement tells us about the kind of personnel who are sent to manipulate politics and what is expected of them by the RSS. While delivering a speech on March 16, 1954, in Sindi, Wardha, he said,

*If we say that we are part of the organization and accept its discipline then selectiveness has no place in life. Do what is told. If told to play kabaddi, play kabaddi; told to hold meeting then meeting....For instance some of our friends were told to go and work for politics that does not mean that they have great interest or inspiration for it. They don't die for politics like fish without water. If they are told to withdraw from politics then also there is no objection. Their*



*discretion is just not required.*<sup>24</sup>

The second statement is also very significant.

*We know this also that some of our Swayamsevaks work in politics. There they have to organize according to the needs of work public meetings, processions etc., have to raise slogans. All these things have no place in our work. However, like the character in a play whatever role has been assigned should be portrayed with best of capability. But sometimes Swayamsevaks go beyond the role assigned to a performer (nat) as they develop over-zealousness in their hearts, to the extent that they become useless for this work. This is not good.*<sup>25</sup>

We find here Golwalkar referring to the Swayamsevaks loaned to political satellite as 'nat' or performers who are meant to dance to the tunes of the RSS. This fact should not be missed here that Golwalkar's above design of controlling the political arm was elaborated in March 1960 almost nine years after the establishment of Jansangh (the forerunner of the BJP) in 1951.

## **IS THE BJP INDEPENDENT OF RSS?**

The RSS cadres who control the BJP keep on harping the theme that BJP is an independent political organization and does not work under the dictates of the RSS. It is pertinent that one compares this information with the facts available in the official publications of the RSS. The central publication house of the RSS, the Suruchi Prakashan, has published a book, *Param Vaibhav Ke Path Par - The Road to Glory* (1997) giving details of more than 40 organizations created by the RSS for different tasks. The BJP as a political organization figures prominently in it, clubbed with the ABVP, Hindu Jagaran Manch, Vishva Hindu Parishad, Swadeshi Jagaran Manch and Sanskar Bharti. The preface of the book itself declares that

*Without the knowledge of the different kinds of activities of the Sawayamsevaks (the volunteers of the RSS) the introduction of the RSS is incomplete. Keeping this in mind it has been attempted in this book to produce the brief information about the diverse activities of the Sawayamsevaks. This book covers the organizational status till 1996... We believe that this book will prove to be of use for those who want to understand the RSS with the Swyamsevaks.*<sup>26</sup>

In this book the BJP figures at number three in the list of prominent organizations created by the RSS. This book discusses the creation and development of the BJP under the aegis of the RSS in full three pages.

## **IS NOT THE RSS HELPING ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THE ISI?**

The ISI the dreaded intelligence network of Pakistan is working overtime in its attempts to subvert the secular-democratic Indian State; there can be no two opinions on this count. (Though there is no guarantee that CIA and the KGB the intelligence agencies of USA and Russia respectively would like to have a United India) However, the much-talked designs of the ISI for dismemberment of India need deeper probing. There are many serious questions that require proper and objective responses. Is it the complete truth that only the ISI is trying to foment communal trouble in this country? Did not the communal fascist acts like demolition of Babri mosque by the cadres of the RSS in 1992 and recent carnage of Muslims in Gujarat have turned India into a communal volcano to the joy of organizations like the ISI? Are not there communal elements well entrenched in our country, enjoying state support, which are out with full force to destroy the communal peace of the country? Are these not the same forces that are making the job of ISI easier?

Organizations like the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Hindu Jagran Manch (HJM) and Bajrang Dal (BD), and other affiliates of the RSS after using Gujarat as a laboratory for religious cleansing of minorities specially Christians and Muslims for last so many years are spreading their tentacle throughout India. The leaflets containing highly provocative statements like,

*'Muslims are filth of the gutter, don't let them enter in your houses', or 'Wherever Christian priests have gone in the world, they loot the people. Lies and deceit are their religion. The Christian priests teach people to tell lies, to steal in the name of religion...They curse Hindus, and decry the Hindu religion. Awaken Hindus and struggle against these thieves who lie, who rob you of your rights, and bring these people to their senses and put their pride in place', or 'One addition in the population of Christians or Muslims is not only the addition of anti-Hindu but anti-national person.'*<sup>27</sup>

Such leaflets issued on behalf of VHP, HJM and BD which used to be confined to Gujarat only are now circulating in different parts of the country. The fascist ideas contained in these leaflets are not the brainchild of some hotheaded cadre. In fact, the 'Holy' book for the RSS cadres *Bunch of Thoughts*, has a long chapter titled as 'Internal Threats' in which Muslims and Christians are described as threat

number one and two respectively. This chapter opens with the following statement.

*It has been the tragic lesson of the history of many a country in the world that the hostile elements within the country pose a far greater menace to national security than aggressors from outside.*<sup>28</sup>

While treating Muslims as hostile element number one he goes on to elaborate,

*Even to this day there are so many who say, 'now there is no Muslim problem at all. All those riotous elements who supported Pakistan have gone away once for all. The remaining Muslims are devoted to our country. After all, they have no other place to go and they are bound to remain loyal'....It would be suicidal to delude ourselves into believing that they have turned patriots overnight after the creation of Pakistan. On the contrary, the Muslim menace has increased a hundredfold by the creation of Pakistan which has become a springboard for all their future aggressive designs on our country.*<sup>29</sup>

He goes on to spit venom against common Muslims,

*...within the country there are so many Muslim pockets, i.e., so many 'miniature Pakistans'... The conclusion is that, in practically every place, there are Muslims who are in constant touch with Pakistan over the transmitter...<sup>30</sup>*

According to him every Muslim in India is untrustworthy and disloyal, "Even today, Muslims, whether in high positions of the Government or outside, participate openly in rabidly anti-national conferences."<sup>31</sup>

While deliberating on the 'Internal Threat' number two, he says,

*such is the role of Christian gentlemen residing in our land today, out to demolish not only the religious and social fabric of our life but also to establish political domination in various pockets and if possible all over the land.*<sup>32</sup>

Golwalkar, finally, following into the footsteps of Hitler had the following solution of the minority problem,

*From this stand point, sanctioned by the experience of shrewd old nations, the foreign races in Hindusthan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e., of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing,*

*deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment not even citizen's rights. There is, at least should be, no other course for them to adopt. We are an old nation: let us deal, as old nations ought to and do deal, with the foreign races who have chosen to live in our country.*<sup>33</sup>

## **DOES THE RSS LIKE MUSLIM LEAGUE BELIEVE IN TWO-NATION THEORY?**

RSS by declaring that Hindus are a separate nation has, in fact, been supplementing the Two-Nation Theory as practiced by the Muslim League. Both hold same views about distinct characters and exclusiveness of Hindus and Muslims. Founder of RSS, Hedgewar treated VD Savarkar of Hindu Mahasabha as his mentor, philosopher and guide. Dhananjay Keer, official biographer of Savarkar while describing the bond writes,

*Before starting the volunteer organization known as Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, Dr. Hedgewar had a long discussion with Savarkar over the faith, form and future of the organization. A great Hindu leader and an unbending upright nationalist, Dr. Hedgewar wanted to conserve and direct the energy of Hindu youth towards all-round uplift of the Hindu Nation. After the collapse of the Non-cooperation movement of Gandhi and the fiasco of the Khilafat Movement, the country lay prostrate, and chaos and confusion reigned in the student world. In the wake of this confusion and in consultation with Savarkar and others, Hedgewar decided to build up an organization to supply the Hindu society with power and pillars.*<sup>34</sup>

Another RSS luminary, former Deputy Prime Minister and Union Home Minister, LK Advani also admitted about their roots in Savarkar's Hindutva. During a visit to Port Blair he candidly told the gathering that there was no reason to feel shy of,

*Hindutva, propounded at great length by Veer Savarkar. It is an all-encompassing ideology with its roots in the country's heritage.*

Advani must be familiar with the terrible fact that Savarkar was a great upholder of Two-Nation Theory. While addressing the 19<sup>th</sup> Session of Hindu Mahasabha, he said:

*As it is, there are two antagonistic nations living side by side in India several infantile politicians commit the serious mistake in supposing*

*that India is already welded into a harmonious nation, or that it could be welded thus for the mere wish to do so. These our well-meaning but unthinking friends take their dreams for realities. That is why they are impatient of communal tangles and attribute them to communal organizations. But the solid fact is that the so-called communal questions are but a legacy handed down to us by centuries of cultural, religious and national antagonism between the Hindus and Moslems. When time is ripe you can solve them; but you cannot suppress them by merely refusing recognition of them. It is safer to diagnose and treat deep-seated disease than to ignore it. Let us bravely face unpleasant facts as they are. India cannot be assumed today to be a Unitarian and homogenous nation, but on the contrary there are two nations in the main: the Hindus and the Moslems, in India.<sup>35</sup>*

Savarkar, the great philosopher and guide of RSS not only propagated Two-Nation Theory but entered into alliances with Muslim League in order to break 'Quit India Movement'. While delivering Presidential address to the 24<sup>th</sup> session of Hindu Mahasabha in Cawnpore (Kanpur), he defended hobnobbing with the Muslim League in the following words,

*In practical politics also the Mahasabha knows that we must advance through reasonable compromises. Witness the fact that only recently in Sind, the Sind-Hindu-Sabha on invitation had taken the responsibility of joining hands with the League itself in running coalition Government. The case of Bengal is well known. Wild Leaguers whom even the Congress with all its submissiveness could not placate grew quite reasonably compromising and socialable as soon as they came in contact with the HM and the Coalition Government, under the premiership of Mr. Fazlul Huq and the able lead of our esteemed Mahasabha leader Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerji, functioned successfully for a year or so to the benefit of both the communities. Moreover further events also proved demonstratively that the H Mahasabhaites endeavoured to capture the centers of political power only in the public interests and not for the leaves and fishes of the office.<sup>36</sup>*

With these facts before us the RSS must be categorically told that it is high time it joins the national mainstream and takes effective steps to Indianize itself so that it does not play supportive role to the anti-national forces who are bent upon destroying democratic, secular and federal polity of India.

## ENDNOTES

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4. MS Golwalkar, *Bunch of Thoughts*, Sahitya Sindhu, Bangalore, 1996, pp. 237-238.
5. Ibid, p. 238.
6. *Shakha Darshikha*, Gyan Ganga, Jaipur, 1997, p. 1.
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8. *SGSD*, Volume I, p. 11.
9. Ibid, Volume III, p. 128.
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18. Ibid, Volume I, p. 109.
19. Ibid, pp. 109-110.
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21. Ibid, Volume I, pp. 11-12.
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28. *Bunch of Thoughts*, p. 177.
29. Ibid, pp. 177-178.
30. Ibid, p. 185.
31. Ibid, p. 187.
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35. *Samagar Savarkar Wangmaya* (Collected Works of Savarkar), Hindu Mahasabha, Poona, 1963, p.296
36. Ibid, pp. 479-480.